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ABSTRACT

This document reports on a study of New Zealand's Special Education 2000 (SE2000) policy with emphasis on issues of particular importance to the Maori minority group. Methodology included interviews with key national organizations including Maori organizations and key informants in the field. An executive summary summarizes findings concerning consultation, knowledge of and access to information about SE 2000, Maori perceptions of support, extended family support, wider issues, teacher training, policymakers and the Maori philosophy, and implications of the Treaty of Waitangi. Findings are reported in terms of SE2000 and the special needs of Maori children; how SE2000 can fail to meet the special needs of Maori children; examples of non-provision; improving special education provision at the tribal, sub-tribal, and extended family levels; and appropriate formats for policy information. Also included are Maori questions about SE2000. Among major issues identified are the importance of considering partnership principles enunciated in the Treaty of Waitangi, incorporation of Maori cultural concepts, and consultation with Maori at every level of policy development and implementation. A list of Maori words and phrases (used throughout the report) is attached, as is the SE2000 interview format. (DB)

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NEW ZEALAND COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

SPECIAL EDUCATION 2000

"So—What's So Special about Special Education for Maori?"

Margaret A. Wilkie

New Zealand Council for Educational Research
Wellington
1999

New Zealand Council for Educational Research
PO Box 3237
Wellington
New Zealand

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MIHI

He mihi nui tenei ki a koutou e mau ana te arawhanui mo tatou e whai ana te matauranga. Kei te mihi atu, kei te mihi atu ki o tatou mate kua wehe atu ki te po. Haere, haere, haere. Haere ki te kainga tuturu oo tatau tipuna. Kate ra, ko te honga mate ki te honga mate, ko te honga ora ki tehonga ora; no reira, tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou katoa.

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With a clear awareness of the limited timeframe for the research and the demands placed on the time of professionals in the education, health, and Maori development sectors, the co-operation and willingness to contribute by all informants to the research project is warmly acknowledged. Particular thanks are extended to staff of Te Puni Kōkiri, Maori Women's Welfare League, Te Kohanga Reo National Trust, NZEI, PPTA, the New Zealand Correspondence School, CCS; Workbridge, and the Specialist Education Service.

To all of my whanau and tangata whenua who contributed so freely, Kia Ora.

Margaret Wilkie
Kairangahau/Researcher

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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The process of ongoing development of Special Education 2000 policy and its implementation requires a Maori perspective. This research focused on the issues for Maori, in particular aiming to identify "what's so special about special education for Maori?"

The research found that there is a definite Maori perspective about the education of children with special needs, and the majority of respondents considered that SE2000 policy failed to acknowledge this perspective.

Consultation

Initial consultation targeted national organisations working with children with special needs, or with the providers of services to these children. Consultation with key informants moved the investigation to whanau and iwi, and to the "chalk face" in early childhood and schools, including kaupapa Maori sites, mainstream provision, and the Correspondence School. The 6-week timeframe for the research limited opportunities for consultation particularly at the iwi level, which may be compensated for by a wider-scale consultation in the future.

General concerns about the mobility of children who relocate before special provision can be established, the need to support Maori children in kaupapa Maori settings in te reo Maori, and the effect of special needs children within mainstream settings on their fellow learners and on their teachers were apparent. The challenges of provision and support within rural and isolated communities were seen as problematic, as was the process of appropriate identification and response to behavioural and learning difficulties.

Support for a child requires the co-ordination of service provision for individual children involving a potentially wide range of professionals and organisations, along with the schools or childhood centres and families, including whanau. Many Maori respondents indicated concern that the concept of whanau as an extended family grouping was not accommodated in existing service provision.

Knowledge and Access

The complexity of the SE2000 policy and the unevenness of Maori access to information about the resourcing scheme were apparent in the responses. Few respondents were able to identify the five main components of the policy, and some respondents thought that the entire policy was one component, most frequently the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme (ORS).

A major variable affecting the level of knowledge about SE2000 was a perceived "need to know" or whether people felt the policy was relevant to them or required their action. This is of concern if it means that Maori children are missing out on resourcing for special needs when an education professional or advocate does not see the SE2000 policy as relevant to Maori.

Differences of access to and use of SE2000 policy information between urban or rural locations were apparent, with physical isolation an important factor.

The level of understanding of general policy development and implementation processes also varied widely. There was a preference for face-to-face information sharing, for information to be available in te reo Maori, and for material in both languages to be written more clearly and simply.

The lack of both information in Maori and the bilingual provision of services affected perceptions of accessibility to the information and the services. Knowledge of SE2000 policy was greater where information sharing through professional and other networks was evident.

Maori Perceptions of Support

Key factors that appear to impact on perceptions of the support available from SE2000 included the level of understanding and the degree of "fit" between kaupapa Maori and SE2000 policy principles. In some places, the perceived relevance of the policy to the local situation and prior experiences of access, or lack of access, to support and resourcing made a difference. The degree of actual involvement with policy implementation led to variations of understanding of the support available. Thus getting access to SE2000 support may have been affected by the cultural appropriateness of the format used for information delivery. The use of paperwork in verifications for entitlement to support, for example with the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme, rather than assessment and verification from personal observation, was also seen as culturally inappropriate. Success rates with targeting ongoing resourcing for Maori could therefore be affected.

Whanau Support

Discussion about whanau and provider collaboration for delivery to special needs children identified the need for a wider understanding, on the part of policy makers and service providers, of the traditional concept of whanau and the place of the individual within the whanau. While the kaupapa Maori model of whanau participation, which exemplifies best practice, already exists in some sites, the perceived differences between the culture of the home and the culture of the school or provider was a significant challenge for many respondents.

Wider Issues

Wider issues such as poverty, intergenerational literacy and learning needs impacting on whanau, and the need to accommodate these in provision for special needs children, were raised. While whanau education may be required to support special needs children, bicultural sensitivity is essential for all providers of education and support services to Maori.

The need to prevent negative behaviours such as self-harm, violence, aggression, and truancy, and the potential flow-on effect between failure to meet special needs and resulting unemployment are of general concern. These wider issues highlighted the need for both a co-ordinated response and a wider consultation outside urban areas.

Teacher Training

Maori respondents were particularly concerned about teachers' training and support needs, and the development of skills to deal with learners with special needs in the mainstream settings. The limited supply of kaupapa Maori education and service provision also affects children with special needs.

Policy Makers and Maori Kaupapa

Important issues that should be considered when developing and implementing SE2000 policy included the need for a clearly defined Maori strand with consideration of spiritual dimensions. Policy writers need an understanding of issues and problems as they affect Maori in particular, and an awareness of issues such as the perception that teachers may expect Maori children to perform at a level below non-Maori children, and therefore Maori children's special learning needs could be overlooked.

Change processes require managing, preferably in a transparent manner. Policy and other information may be clear to the writers, but not clear to the intended recipients and Maori stakeholders in particular. Misinformation is detrimental to policy development and implementation and may have adverse effects on Maori access to resources provided by the SE2000 policy.

Other factors relating to the perception of non-provision in special education included the lack of accurate information about policies and services and previous negative experiences with provision. There were doubts that resources would be adequate for Maori children with special needs, and that Maori children with special needs would get their share of funding. The impact of unsupported mainstreaming on all learners and teachers was of concern.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Respondents were clear that the Treaty of Waitangi should be considered in the development and implementation of all national policy, in particular tino rangatiratanga, which encompasses Maori control over decisions and funding. Inclusion of appropriate Maori perspectives is essential to gain the trust and commitment of tangata whenua, and the policy must be applicable to Maori in the full range of locations and situations. For Maori participation a full range of tangata whenua should be consulted, and respondents gave their advice on how this may be achieved. Successful implementation of policy will depend on the perceived relevance to Maori.

Maori have holistic concepts of the child and education; policy needs to be flexible enough to accommodate this world view. Separate iwi may have different or unique needs requiring localised responses. Consideration should be given to options for a diverse range of co-ordinated responses, including the potential for iwi and runanga involvement with policy development.

The Ministry of Education has made a commitment to immersion education opportunities. The resources to enable this to occur for children with special education needs should be available in te reo Maori. Bilingual and bicultural staff are critical for appropriate delivery of services to Maori.

INTRODUCTION

> Special Education 2000 is an exciting and comprehensive policy. It aims to improve educational opportunities for all young children and school students with special education needs who are in early childhood education centres or schools. Extensive research is being carried out alongside the implementation and the results of that will help form further policy decisions. (Jackson, 1998)

This research report investigates issues relating to SE2000 policy and implementation from a Maori perspective, supporting the Ministry of Education's commitment to an inclusive policy, which can recognise and respond to the particular needs of tangata whenua for special education provision.

Many of the issues identified by both researchers and those developing the SE2000 policy are relevant to all New Zealanders:

- mobility of children who relocate before provision can be established;
- the effect of special needs children within mainstream settings on their fellow learners and their teachers;
- the challenges of provision and support within rural and isolated communities;
- the appropriate identification and response to behavioural and learning difficulties;
- the involvement of family/whanau in support of the child;
- the co-ordination of service provision for individual children involving a potentially wide range of professional "experts" and organisations, along with schools or early childhood education centres and families;
- the complexity of the SE2000 policy and stakeholders' access to information about the resourcing scheme;
- the needs of teachers for training and the development of skills to deal with learners with special needs in the "mainstream" settings.

In the interest of informing the ongoing development of SE2000 policy and implementation, it is essential that the policy writers achieve a Maori perspective on the policy and, in particular, on any issues about its implementation. This research focused on the issues for Maori in particular and contributes information to the question of "So—what's so special about special education for Maori?"

Research Questions

(1) In what ways do the provision and implementation of SE2000 meet the needs of Maori children who are experiencing educational difficulties?

(2) In what ways do the provision and implementation of SE2000 fail to meet the needs of these children?

(3) In what ways can SE2000 implementation be improved for iwi, hapu, and whanau?

(4) What are the implications of the issues identified for policy development and service providers nationally and locally, and for practitioners working directly with Maori children?

Methodology

At no time is this report intended to be considered a definitive statement on behalf of Maori, or to fairly represent the concerns or viewpoints of all Maori. This preliminary investigation aimed to provide an initial overview of some of the key issues and concerns relating to SE2000 as it impacts on Maori, from a Maori perspective, and to offer suggestions for possible use in wider-scale consultation and policy development.

The primary limitation of this research was the limited timeframe. A 6-week period was available to conduct and complete the research. Variables such as redeployment of staff or illness on the part of respondents could not always be adequately compensated for within this timeframe. Formal approaches to runanga for advice were inappropriate within the given timeframe; informal comment from iwi was given freely.

The research targeted key national organisations and their staff dealing with the issue of children with special needs. Organisations able to respond within the timeframe included Te Kohanga Reo National Trust (TKRNT), the NZ Educational Institute (NZEI), Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA), and CCS, previously known as the Crippled Children's Society. Other national service providers included the Specialist Education Service (SES) and the New Zealand Correspondence School. Staff of the Maori Women's Welfare League and Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK) were consulted and gave appropriate advice for the research process and highlighted some issues of concern to all Maori. From initial contact at the national level, key informants in the field or working at the "chalk face" were identified, and targeted for consultation.

Korero with tangata whenua included some who have special needs children in their whanau, some involved in teaching and provision of other services including health, some in monitoring and policy development, and others in the training and education of students and teachers. The sites of the hui with tangata whenua included marae and whanau homes, kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Maori (KKM) sites, all of which contributed significantly to the Maori perspective.

Primary data were gathered through face-to-face interviews, most of which were conducted with individuals. Hui with Maori respondents included a kohanga reo focus group of five, pairs of special needs trainers and teachers, a whanau group consulted over a period of 4 days in various settings and groupings, and non-Maori staff in pairs and a larger group of staff within a student learning centre catering for special needs.

Most of the interviews were taped, with a few participants preferring to korero without being taped. Researcher notes serve as the record of these sessions. The short timeframe of the research gave the respondents who were not closely involved with the SE2000 policy, but actively involved within Maori networks or representative of iwi, inadequate time to consider the issues of special education for Maori. A wider-scale consultation is required to gather from iwi their perspectives about SE2000.

The taped interviews were transcribed and, along with the notes of interviews which had not been recorded, analysed for trends and issues based on the four research questions given above. The core schedule of questions asked during the process of the interviews is attached

in an appendix. As was expected, other questions arose out of the interview process, most significantly regarding the Treaty of Waitangi.

Kaupapa Maori Research

Kaupapa Maori research draws from the strength of whanaungatanga, or networking through whanau, hapu, and iwi relationships, which exist within te ao Maori. Maori respondents in particular were able to advise the research from a basis of trust, guaranteed by the tikanga of kaupapa Maori, and the high-quality assurance processes of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Honouring the TWKM/NZCER commitment to kaupapa Maori research, a copy of the interview transcript will be returned to the key informants who expressed interest in receiving the transcript. This action acknowledges that the words belong to the people who gave them to the research process. Audiotapes will be returned to respondents at their request, or wiped clear at the end of the project. Transcripts will be archived within a secure system or shredded.

Where possible, the actual words of the research participants are used to illuminate the core issues identified in this study.

Framing a Maori Perspective on Special Education

This research followed a qualitative methodology necessitated in part by the current lack of quantitative data about the special needs of Maori and in part by the preference by Maori for face-to-face consultation. Statistical information analysed from several national perspectives would clarify the variables that are important to research into the provision of special education for Maori. A co-ordinated research project drawing on the knowledge, information, and databases of Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Health, for example, would provide an appropriate and very useful quantitative national picture of the extent of special needs among Maori and the provision for them.

Consultation and dialogue with Maori as tangata whenua, iwi, hapu, and whanau could inform a Maori perspective on special education. A major challenge is presented on how to appropriately conduct such a process. This report offers the advice of tangata whenua on this issue.

Wider Issues

Some broad issues arising in the course of the research, but beyond the scope of this present report, may require larger-scale, more in-depth investigation and research. These issues as they relate to SE2000 and other cross-department policies, such as the Strengthening Families policy, pose many questions.

- ☐ Maori have their own unique philosophy or kaupapa for education. The knowledge contained within te ao Maori is in parts quite discrete from the knowledge of te ao Pakeha. Is Special Education 2000 a policy that creates a paradigm inclusive of both worlds?
- ☐ Tangata whenua as critical thinkers in the field of education have analysed the SE2000 policy as evidence of assimilation and hegemony, while the policy clearly states it is based on a philosophy of inclusion. Is either or are both of these viewpoints correct?

- The SE2000 policy has to date been disseminated predominantly in the English medium. Only two sourced pamphlets on the SE2000 policy have been translated into te reo Maori. The perceived scarcity of resources for Maori medium education is exacerbated by the needs of Maori children with special educational needs and learning within immersion environments. How will the Ministry respond to this need?
- Teachers and specialist education staff who korero Maori and who are knowledgeable or trained in special needs education as it affects Maori are extremely rare. Providers able to deliver a culturally appropriate service, which is biculturally sensitive, are needed by all Maori with special educational needs and their teachers. Is there any provision to meet this need?
- The implementation of SE2000 policy requires a change process to take place. The challenges of the processes of change are evident in many of the issues with the policy. How is this change process being managed to include Maori?
- The appropriate communication of information about SE2000 policy is an issue for most of the respondents to the research. While the principle of informing stakeholders is appreciated, the format, language, vehicle, and content of communications have alienated many Maori. Face to face is the preferred Maori model; facsimile was perceived by Maori as the dominant method preferred by Ministry of Education. What will the Ministry of Education do to improve this situation?
- Ministry of Education processes for consultation with tangata whenua for the purpose of Maori policy advice will benefit from further development. Evidence of positive action resulting from a process of korero, speaking and listening, is not evident in the perspectives of Maori speaking of the development or implementation of the SE2000 policy. Will this change?

FINDINGS

Knowledge about SE2000

Analysis of the primary data showed that few people were aware of the five main strands of the SE2000 policy. Many respondents indicated knowledge of one or two components, and some thought a single component (either the Special Education Grant or the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme) was the entire SE2000 policy. The five main components of the policy summarised from Ministry of Education policy statements include:

- Moderate Special Education Needs, with direct funding through the operational grant of all schools by the Special Education Grant (SEG) and provision for Resource Teachers: Learning and Behaviour (RTLB).
- Speech-Language Initiative (SLI), which provides additional funding for communication difficulties including speech-language therapy and the professional development of teachers.
- Ongoing Resourcing Scheme (ORS), which resources individual students with high and very high needs and which will continue to resource them throughout their school years.
- Severe Behaviour Initiative (SBI), which resources "students whose behaviour endangers themselves or others, and/or constantly prevents them from fitting in with other students and from learning".
- Early Childhood, which aims to give more pre-school children better access to specialist education services and early childhood centres. (Ministry of Education, 1998)

Some respondents had some knowledge of the overall support initiatives for SE2000 including professional development, training and information for a range of stakeholders, and the research, monitoring, and evaluation of the SE2000 policy. The majority of respondents had little or no knowledge of these overall initiatives.

Initial consultations with national organisations targeted staff identified as knowledgeable about Special Education 2000 or working specifically with special needs children. All targeted respondents at this level were aware of the policy, most of its strands, and the issues of implementation of policy as they impacted on their own organisation.

Key respondents identified by national organisations and by use of whanaungatanga were based in a wide range of roles relative to children with special needs. Where possible, the targeted respondent was Maori. This was not achieved in several sites where the key respondent was not Maori but was working specifically with special needs children and the SE2000 policy. Managers and teachers from early childhood education including kohanga reo, three primary schools including one mainstream with a bilingual unit and one with immersion classes, and two kura kaupapa Maori. Secondary school sites included a large urban college, one area school with secondary level, and a smaller urban secondary school. Special education staff at one college of education and the New Zealand Correspondence School were also interviewed.

The knowledge about SE2000 in the school sites ranged from practically nothing in a small number of schools, to equally few being very well informed about the policy. The majority of respondents had some knowledge of SE2000 policy, particularly as it impacted on their own situation. It became apparent to the researcher that a perceived "need to know" about the policy was an important variable in the range of knowledge of the respondents. For example, a teacher or group of teachers completing an application for ORS funding needed to be fully informed about the ORS component, whereas parents contributing to an application could rely on the advocacy of a teacher or a school to make the application and so felt less "need to know". Representatives of boards of trustees and school principals were all concerned about the potential impacts of funding through SE2000 and therefore perceived a greater "need to know" all of the policy details.

Respondents who were parents/matua, health professionals, service providers and deliverers, iwi representatives or kaumatua demonstrated knowledge which particularly related to their own personal experience. Some respondents stated that they had no knowledge at all of the SE2000 policy as such, then reported in-depth experience relating to the potential impacts of the policy implementation.

Other respondents with information provided directly by the Ministry of Education, for example the "Information for Families" packs, had both knowledge and experience with SE2000 and the implementation of some aspects, such as the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme and the Individual Education Plans (IEPs) used to support individual learners.

Evidence of the wide range of accuracy of perception about the policy is apparent in the words of some informants. The incidence of misinformation may be of concern to Ministry staff who are managing and developing the policy and implementation processes.

Key Factors Impacting on Knowledge of SE2000

- The degree of impact of the policy and its implementation on the individual or organisation.
- "The need to know".
- An understanding of general policy development and implementation processes.
- The appropriateness of information-sharing formats for the respondents.
- The degree of accessibility of the information.
- Information sharing through professional and other networks.
- Location—urban or rural.
- Isolation.

SE2000 and the Special Needs of Maori Children

A majority of respondents felt that because SE2000 is a new policy (announced in 1996), the full implications for implementation are not yet clearly understood. Some key themes emerged which are consistent with the broad directions of SE2000. Some of the expectations of SE2000 policy were clearly stated by respondents.

Equity and Inclusion

Equity of access as a philosophical basis for the policy was lauded by some.

> The intention of SE2000 is that it's supposed to level the playing field. That's the thing behind it. Before it depended where you were, how strong a case you put, and who knew about you, as to how much support you could receive. Hopefully SE2000 will mean everybody gets the same access. In special ed. you learn really quickly that every case is different and you have to allow for all the differences. (Special Education provider)

It was also disparaged by others as being in conflict with kaupapa Maori, particularly because of the requirement to "label"children to achieve funding.

> I don't think it will impact as much as some expect. Our Maori people have learnt to go without for so long and live by a shoestring. If it were me, I'd rather not do the paperwork and just get on with it, rather than deal with the bureaucratic red tape of categorising our children, justifying the need, reviewing, responding, and being accountable . . . I think it's going to be harder to squeeze the money out of SE2000, I think it's going to be harder to qualify for that particular putea, and long term I think that money's just going to disappear. (Urban KKM)

The inclusive principles of the policy were recognised as an important goal for a "world class system by the year 2000"; however, the lack of overt reference to Maori or tangata whenua resulted in a perception of exclusion of Maori for some respondents.

School Responsibility for Special Needs Funding

The shifting of decisions on resource allocation for special needs to schools was identified by many respondents based in the schools as an improvement consistent with the "Tomorrow's Schools" philosophy, for example, where special needs staff are enabled through the exisiting process of the Individual Education Plan (IEP) to deliver varied support to a student. However, in some situations there may be a tension between following advice of kaumatua and the guidance of tipuna and atua, and making alternative choices within the SE2000 framework.

> The foundation of kohanga is one of no choice. The korero has come from the cultural base, this is what our older people considered will be good for ourselves and our children, and their children and their children, so we go, we move, and that's the platform still today. (TKRNT)

Holistic Perspectives

From a holistic Maori perspective, an individual child is inherently part of whanau, hapu, and iwi, so a few respondents perceived as irrelevant a funding formula that does not appear to allow for those dimensions or the spiritual dimensions. Many Maori perceive all children to be special, not just those with learning needs.

> I have to ask how is this (SE2000) programme going to assist Maori children? Whether they are in kohanga or early childhood, or schools or whatever, because we look at special needs totally differently. All children are taonga. (TKRNT)

Funding and Labelling

Funding attached to an individual student as a key principle of SE2000 policy generated markedly diverse reactions. The connection between funding formulas and the actual needs of an individual child was not yet clear to some respondents.

For others the policy supporting the transfer of ORS funding when a child moved schools was a major benefit of SE2000 policy.

> Funding attaching to the individual has been positive. We no longer have to fight the previous school, which we used to have to do. We used to have to squabble over the regional pool. (Transition Manager, secondary school)

The principle behind the ORS funding of a child to enable a longer-term plan for delivery of special education support was universally applauded. The positive implication of planning for staffing and services based on the expected level of funding was mentioned by several respondents, although the impact on service funding levels where students relocate during the school terms was of concern.

The negative implication of labelling children to get funds was anathema to most respondents, with Maori in particular quite resistant to the process. The Ministry intended with ORS "to categorise the need not the child" using ORS as a generic label for a range of learners with a range of needs and ensuring ongoing support for each individual learner. Stakeholders may benefit from further information on this aspect of the ORS policy in particular.

The process of ORS verification for funding had several strong critics, indicating a need for greater transparency and accountability in the decision-making process. For the majority of Maori respondents, a face-to-face assessment of the child in their own learning environment was preferred to reliance on a written application.

> I'd like to change the fact that a panel of people sit round a desk and make major decisions about people that they've never even met. It would help if these people who are making these decisions could possibly come in and observe some of these kids, because it's very difficult to put on paper, the reality of the situation. (Urban secondary school)

Anecdotes of "battles" for correct categorisation of the students were common in the schools, and two respondents mentioned the prohibitive costs associated with preparing for a review of decisions, such as an independent psychopaedic assessment. Some respondents

are seeking another level of ORS funding which covers the perceived "gap" between the categories of moderate and high needs.

Generating the Special Education Grant funding by enrolment numbers and decile ranking was recognised as one method of equitable resource allocation. However, many interpreted this to be unconnected with the actual incidence of special needs within individual schools. This concern was stated most strongly in sites that are a "magnet" school for a local area. Parents choose to send their children with special needs to the schools with a strong reputation for special educational delivery and established resources. A common perception was that some other schools would have no special needs children, while within the magnet school the funding for moderate needs would not meet the demand for resources. The actual relationship between demand and resourcing for moderate needs is the topic of research conducted by Praat (1998), who found that 50 percent of schools spent more on children with moderate learning and behaviour needs than they received from their SEG allocation and that schools generally were most likely to supplement shortfalls in SEG with other operational funding.

The flexibility of use of the SEG funds by individual institutions to respond to needs with the priority determined by boards of trustees or principals was seen as a positive aspect of the policy. However, there was widespread concern about the accountability for this spending, in particular whether Maori children would benefit, and the effectiveness of the proposed Education Review Office evaluation process. Some concern was expressed that allocation of funds to a single pool, such as a school's operations grant, would not give transparent information about the actual allocation of funds to particular needs. It may not be possible to determine that resources are allocated equitably to the special needs of Maori children.

Speech-Language Therapy for Te Reo Maori

The provision for speech-language therapy was recognised by a majority of respondents in schools, with a common perception that this was a continuation of previous support offered through SES with a different name. The issue of the lack of service delivery in the Maori medium was common to all kaupapa Maori sites, with some equating the availability of support in English only with a devaluation of te reo Maori, and so sending a mixed signal to the children.

Learning and Behaviour and the Resource Teachers: Learning and Behaviour

The recognition of special needs in the less easily categorised areas of learning and behaviour with the establishment of the RTLB positions was seen as a progressive step by many. Several key issues regarding the redeployment of some existing staff and the loss of staffing positions within schools were apparent in the consultations.

The role of the RTLBs was not understood by many respondents, particularly the use of RTLBs as a resource for the teachers rather than as a support for individual students and their whanau. More information about the RTLB roles beyond the existing job descriptions may be of benefit to Maori and the wider education community.

The intention to designate some RTLB positions as Maori generated widespread concerns about the low probability of finding appropriately qualified bilingual people able to work across years 1–10. There was further concern about the potential for a school to lose a valued staff member who is selected to become an RTLB. Further concern was expressed

about the need for support for the Maori RTLBs working in isolation, as some areas may have a sole Maori RTLB.

Based on an understanding that school clusters will decide the actual allocation of time use for the Maori RTLBs using fixed formulas for provision, some Maori respondents were concerned that Maori children, particularly those in immersion learning, would not be adequately resourced.

The process of collaboration between providers of RTLB training promises a national content with provision for localised delivery. The advantage of this form of co-operation within a competitive contract environment was mentioned by one respondent. Widespread concerns about the sensitivity of RTLB training towards the provision for the special needs of Maori in particular could be alleviated by publication of the content of the RTLB training programmes which do have a particular Maori strand.

Support Programmes

The majority of respondents did not comment on the parallel provision for inservice training of teachers in special needs education. Information about inservice training has reached some principals, who have applied for their school to be included in the programme. The majority of rural-based respondents were not aware of the provision. It is possible that this initiative is too recent for a widespread understanding amongst education professionals.

Key Factors of SE2000 Policy and Maori Perspectives

- Equity of access and inclusion of Maori is a key for Maori participation.
- Understanding of SE2000 policy principles by Maori is essential.
- The perceived "fit" between kaupapa Maori and SE2000 policy principles.
- The process of achieving funding by use of labelling is anathema.
- The need for greater transparency of funding systems and accountability for Maori learners.
- The issue of the lack of service and information delivery in the Maori medium.
- The uneven access to appropriate information and services due to isolation.

How SE2000 Can Fail To Meet the Special Needs of Maori Children

Partnership between Providers and Whanau

The principle within the SE2000 policy of recognising families as essential to the development of individual learners with special needs was generally warmly received. However, perceived differences between the Maori concept of whanau, meaning extended families across several generations and configurations, and the non-Maori construct of the concept family, meaning nuclear family unit, was universal among Maori respondents. Many expressed concern that by the word whanau, Ministry and service providers understood only nuclear family.

> They are using the word whanau to mean family, and family in the Ministry's eyes is Mum and Dad and children. Now they should put extended family in front of family. Make that point very strongly. It's not just Mum and Dad and the child. It's the Mum's mother, the grandparents, the cousins, the aunties, you know they are really just as important because they create that supportive kind of cover for that nuclear group, it's the extended family that need to be consulted with . . . they are the support group. In Maori terms or in Pacific Island terms. (Urban kaumatua)

The following comment is typical of Maori teachers and service providers who often advocate and inform whanau about special needs provision.

> Whanau who have over the years come in to my kohanga and have their children with special needs, have not known that there were things out there for them. I am lucky because I did sit back and think so I ring people up and say where can I go for this and that. Then I talk to the whanau. Secondly, I have to be constantly aware for the whanau's sake. And there's a matter of inclusion. SES tends to not include the whanau, just the mother and the child. And I keep having to say to SES that it is important that all the whanau are included, that all my staff are included in this child's development. (Urban kohanga reo)

SE2000 policy emphasises the individual child as the basis of funding, which is at odds with kaupapa Maori.

> We see the child as part of the whanau. You can't really give individual assistance to the child without the whanau. (TKRNT)

Traditional Maori knowledge about the child with special needs is commonly framed within a wider context of whanau and community.

> Children born with special needs are a person given by the Creator to the community. It was the community's obligation to manaaki (look after) that person as someone special, not someone deficient. That was never ever in the thinking of the old people, it was an obligation for the old people to express their manaakitanga to that person in a special way, treat them like manuhiri if you like, not just treat them ordinary, but treat them special. (Kaumatua)

Many Maori respondents expressed concern that SE2000 policy and funding did not appear to recognise the whanau, hapu, and iwi links within communities.

> The facts are SE2000 is funded by the taxpayer's dollar. The bottom line question is, 'How does the Maori child get through its parent, and its whanau, and its hapu and its iwi, access and get a total entitlement?' (Urban kohanga reo)

> What I would like to see the whanau or the hapu or the iwi to be able to access special ed. funding to deal with the behaviour modification, which will impact on the learning. If we had a programme that we were able to buy in, or have somebody develop, not the school develop because it is not a school problem only, the kids only reflect the community. If it could be developed for wide use in the community among whanau, at marae or not at marae, because a lot of these kids may or may not go to a marae. That gives them a consistent message between what's happening out there, and what's happening in here, and where they can have the time to develop the behaviours necessary, because it's not going to happen overnight. (Rural area school)

The SE2000 policy implementation is not commonly perceived as responding to needs on a whanau level.

> I tried to get CYPS and SES to deal with a whanau in a sad sexual and physical abuse type case, because the children were cousins. But no, the policy says deal with the child as an individual. It is of concern to me that those traditional structures and concepts are not taken into account in these policies. These three children are first cousins; the whole family has a history, yet we have to apply for each of these children in their own right. CYPS will deal with one, but not the other two, because they haven't fallen to the bottom of the cliff, they are at the top of it. SES will deal with these, but they can't deal with the one with CYPS. The whole three children are the same family, shouldn't they be the centre, and everybody is working together? If we had more co-ordination by the whanau, hapu, and iwi group deliverers, then special ed. would come in as part of one of those, rather than being separate. We need to take more account of what'sgoing on. (Rural area school)

One major concern is the requirement for children to be "hooked in" to existing education provision. This is an issue for the 60 percent of Maori children aged 0–4 (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998) who do not attend any form of early childhood education. Some evidence of whanau preference to keep the children with special needs quite separate from the support systems was given.

> There are some that are intellectually disabled, and the parents sort of lock them away, but they love them. They don't need anyone to see them, they manage them with all the basic needs and the greatest of all is aroha. So education isn't a major point at that time, it's love, because they tend to overwhelm them with love, to show them they are really special no matter what. I have seen that some of them are removed at 5 to [a city]. We don't have the resources here, and for some it is better this way. It would be more beneficial to have the skills here in our district, but because they are not here, we have to target them going away. It's hard on the family, it causes whanau breakdown. (Public health nurse)

In some locations, response to questions about involving whanau or parents revealed that kaupapa Maori has a fundamental philosophy of parent and whanau involvement in

schooling. While the need for a strong supportive whanau for the child was universally acknowledged as an ideal, the reality of some situations was that this is not always possible due to the perceived separation between home and school environments.

> For Maori children it doesn't always work to involve whanau, and that's because usually, but not always, the children come from families that are dysfunctional, and it's not just one level of support that's required to support the child's learning needs. Behaviour happens over a period of time, unless there's some traumatic incident that sparks a particular behaviour, but we are trying to change patterns in children. It's a bit of the school has a culture, the child is not adapting to that culture as much as we try to be flexible, but they are coming with a different culture from home. The values of the school are not necessarily the values of the home. The home is dysfunctional. (Rural immersion unit)

The need for parent and whanau education was a common concern amongst respondents.

> One thing I'd like us to work at more, is how we involve the whanau in the support. And that's a difficult one because what you are talking about is parent education. And I think that's a critical element in all of this. How do you break down the suspicions of schools, where I have not succeeded, and in fact I felt quite alienated from, and now as a parent, I've got to overcome that alienation because my kids are there and somehow I want to actually get involved. I don't know how you finally solve that. (Urban secondary school)

> One of the things I would like to see is more money so the whanau can stay together and learn. I would like to see a special needs teacher alongside the child, and whanau education to get them involved and to say how it is OK to have this child who has a special need, and how to get them to where you want them to go. (Public health nurse)

An understanding of the role of whanau in the life of Maori children with special needs was generally perceived as essential for people in the RTLB positions.

> Ideally it would be good if they could be iwi or whanau connected so that they could have a support base. I think the person should be more mature, not a younger teacher. They would need experience to work with other teachers, families, communities, and globally have experience. (Urban kohanga reo)

> The RTLB will be trained in how to deal with parents, they will be involved with parents. They will be trained in how to approach Maori families, the first thing being how to pronounce Maori names. If you are Pakeha you don't necessarily know about the cultural difference. Unfortunately we don't have many Maori people applying to be trained. RTLBs need to be trained to be sensitive to somebody else's spiritual understanding and perspectives. Sensitivity to other cultures is really important; to understand that people have different beliefs that are valued in their context and are important to the children. One fourth of our training is in Maori knowledge. A whole paper is to make these teachers more sensitive to Maori needs. (College of education)

Effects of Poverty

Another wider social issue impacting on whanau participation within SE2000 provision included poverty.

> A large majority of the parents, well they're struggling to pay the rent and put food on the table, and something like this is just too way out there, it's probably number 12 on their list of priorities. It's like 'Oh something else that has been thrown at me, I can't take this on board right now'. (Teacher aide, urban secondary school)

> One student has asked me, 'Could you send me a pen miss?' and you realise that what he means is he needs some paper too and a ruler. You will send him a tape recorder, but I mean modern education assumes that you've got electricity, that you've got a computer and that you've got the phone. (Correspondence School focus group)

> We are a community that's low socioeconomic status. While we can support the child, and where the parent is willing, and quite often they are not willing, particularly with Maori children. It's not that they don't love their children, it's not that they don't want to see their children do well, they don't know how. And because there's a whole host of other issues impacting on their lives at home, like how do you get food in the cupboard, where do I pay the bills. (Rural area school)

Intergenerational Needs

A pattern of intergenerational needs was also described at both urban and rural sites with the impression that this impacted more heavily in low socioeconomic areas.

> The fact that many of them have had bad experiences in education themselves, school is not a good place to go to. Low educational achievement, it's not just the child that we have to deal with, it's all those issues around their whanau. Trying to move out into the extended whanau doesn't always work either, because they have those same issues impacting on them, and while they are all supportive, and they are here saying they will do it, it doesn't always work out that way. (Rural area school)

> Working with whanau, does it work? To be honest no it doesn't. We have a lot of our special needs students with parents sort of at the same level of literacy as what the students are, and so a lot of the information coming through is just too way above their heads. (Urban secondary school)

> We are not on about SE2000 for the benefit of the government; we are on about SE2000 for the [named iwi] children, and the generations that will come behind them. Because these children that are accessing special ed. now, are going to be parents of other children. (Rural area school)

> Some of the special needs are intergenerational. If a parent is not fully literate, and a child who is not literate, what chance do we stand when that child has a child at 15? We have the case where our head of department is now teaching the grand-children of some people that she has taught before in special needs. (Urban secondary school)

Key Factors in Whanau and Provider Collaboration for Delivery to Special Needs Children

- The need for a wider understanding on the part of policy makers and providers of the traditional concept of whanau and the place of the individual within the whanau.
- The kaupapa Maori model of whanau participation, which exemplifies best practice and which already exists.
- The impact on whanau of poverty.
- The effect on whanau involvement of intergenerational literacy and learning needs.
- Perceived differences between the culture of the home and the school or provider.
- The education of the whanau in how to support the education of special needs children.
- Bicultural sensitivity for all providers of education and support services.

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Wider Issues Relating to SE2000

Many issues arose during the process of consultation. Some in-depth examples based on perceived non-provision are included in the next section. The perceived lack of a Maori strand within the policy was common to the majority of Maori respondents and recognised by many non-Maori respondents.

Some fundamental differences between a Maori kaupapa and a non-Maori philosophy were evident. The SE2000 policy does not overtly recognise the spiritual dimensions of te ao Maori, which offer a paradigm for understanding some special needs, particularly behavioural problems. The following quotes exemplify concerns from Maori respondents:

> My philosophy is that I work from the realm that I have been brought up in, I work from te taha tinana, te taha hinengaro, te taha wairua, te taha whanau. The body is not healthy without the mind. The mind is not healthy without the wairua, and the wairua is not healthy without whanau. If you break any of those pillars, you break down the learning opportunities of the individual, whether they are special needs or not. (Public health nurse)

> I don't know whether there actually is a way to assess the spiritual needs of these children because it's not an accepted strand of assessment, then often it gets left out. It's O.K. where you have Maori staff in the schools who are aware of those issues, then you might get a bit of support. This is another reason why we shouldn't be the only ones to access the service. A lot of things can be provided by an integrated approach to the child's learning. That deals with all the symptoms as well as the expressions of special needs. (Rural primary school)

A major issue was apparently the mismatch between paradigms of kaupapa Maori educators and non-Maori providers of support services, resulting in a perceived inappropriateness of advice or response. This impacts most heavily when Maori parents defer to the knowledge of non-Maori experts. The following quotation gives a specific example:

> This is where healing comes in. Healing the child, because you know, our mokopuna came to us at three. Couldn't walk so by massaging and awhi-ing after two months later, walking, standing anyway. We continued massaging and he was walking. And SES said he wasn't getting stimulated, so they took him out. They suggested to the whanau, to Mum, to put him into Kindy. Mum wasn't happy in her heart but she was following what she was told by Pakeha. So she took him out, what, not even a year later, she was back on our doorstep crying, because he is not getting the awhi—the support. It comes back to the concepts and beliefs whether our mokopuna can walk or not is not really the issue; it really is the whole child. When we are dissected like 'Special Needs' it's two things, the Maori perspective really is every child is special, every child is a taonga. (Kohanga reo focus group)

Most non-Maori respondents shared the concern that Maori needs were not being met within existing special education provision, and expressed the view that the development of SE2000 policy from a Maori perspective may provide Maori solutions for Maori problems.

Labelling the Child

Many Maori respondents commented that the process of categorising and labelling children in order to receive targeted funding was contrary to kaupapa Maori that considers the whole child on many levels and resists labelling. The impact on whanau of having a child categorised as well below average or with remarkably high needs is likely to be similar to that experienced by non-Maori parents and families. An echo of concern from a non-Maori respondent indicated that categorising and labelling children based on their special needs was also contrary to the philosophy of many special needs providers.

> In special education, the whole push is to celebrate achievements, but when you are applying for verification, you don't say 'Fantastic, he is doing capital letter B', it's actually a matter of saying, 'He is five and an half and he can only write capital letter B'. So you have to prepare the parent for the fact that while all the time we are saying, 'Isn't this great, with this small achievement we have worked on it for 18 months, so let's celebrate'. For the verification you have to point out the difference between where the child is and where the peers would be. (ECE Correspondence School)

Teacher Expectation

Some anecdotal information was given that raised the question of the impact of teachers' expectation of achievement by Maori learners, and how expectation of low achievement may result in Maori children with special needs missing out on support. Within one site, a separate student learning centre maintained a roll of students from the mainstream classes receiving extra support. The following quote is an example of these responses:

> What concerns me as far as Maori students go within the school is that not enough of them are on our roll with special education. When I'm in class I can see a lot of these kids are struggling and they're not getting picked up, they're not getting recognised, they're not getting pushed along, and they're not getting referred to us. Maybe it's expected. I don't think the teacher's expectations of Maori students are high enough and so if the kids are not achieving it's like it's to be expected, and that's part of the normal and so it's not challenged. (Teacher aide, urban secondary school)

> How you frame up a problem will lead you to certain solutions. While we continue to frame up Maori kids as problems, which is what we do, look at them, there is poor academic achievement, poor behaviour, they are truanting. If you frame up a problem of Maori kids truant, and it's because their parents don't care about them and the kids have no interest in learning. We look to solutions like fining the parents and getting them into court, or getting a truant officer and rounding them up and herding them back to school, instead of saying the problem is that these kids don't feel a sense of belonging in our schools. Then we have to make our schools a place where these kids' needs are met, and then they will go to school. (College of education)

Transient Families

Many respondents referred to the significant problem caused when transience is part of the life experience of a child with special needs.

> Itinerancy is another reason for some of these kids enrolling. Itinerancy connected with the poverty that drives people to travel for work. So there are some of those kids there. They just keep moving. It's the movement to aunty or the grandmother and I think there is still movement for sharing, and that sort of itinerant thing. (Correspondence School focus group)

> Quite often, you set about a course of accessing some support for a particular child and because of the transient nature of a number of these kids, their lifestyles, it's too late. By the time [services] get here [the kids] are gone, because [the service] is so slow to respond, or the kids have moved somewhere else in the community. If it is somebody else co-ordinating with us, it stays where the child's need is. (Rural area school)

Isolation

SE2000 policy may not adequately provide for the unique special needs of children and their whanau in isolated communities, particularly in rural areas. This problem is exacerbated when the whanau feels isolated from their community because they have a special child who is "not normal".

> One example is a family that lives in a very isolated area, and they have the funding for a teacher aide, and Mum doesn't feel there is anybody that she feels comfortable coming into the home and working with the child. Respite care is difficult too; it is very hard to find a person that you can trust with your child, who may be very fragile. That is an isolation issue. Small rural schools may not be getting all of the funding they could for students. (Special education provider)

> If parents are isolated within rural New Zealand, they are even more isolated with a disabled child. They may feel that the community is not accepting of the child. This perception is often real to the parent. That can add to the isolation feeling. Perhaps they take them one time to kohanga and he has a fit or he hits another child. It is very hard then to take them again. It is very hard to attend things when you know your child is going to show up, and be different from everybody. Correspondence could be seen as an equity provision, for those parents where the local community are not fitting their family needs or their child's needs. (Early childhood education)

Demand and Limited Capacity

While parental choice is emphasised in New Zealand, the high demand for some types of education with limited capacity such as kura kaupapa Maori and kohanga reo may limit access for Maori children.

When a child has special needs there may be a further limitation because of a perceived lack of resourcing or expertise to deal with a child. The thoughts of a Maori health professional on this issue were echoed by many other respondents.

> In the kohanga, special needs can take up a lot of time. There is a difficulty getting into the kohanga because of the waiting list. If you have a child tagged with needing extra time, or depending on how disabled or the level of special need, it will either give you the avenue in or out. If you were too disabled you wouldn't get in because of the waiting list, but maybe if you have a minor disability like the loss of an eye, you can target getting one-on-one help. Also

> to train the trainer that it's OK to have an extra person in one-on-one, in the room for the learner with the special needs. (Public health nurse)

Behaviour Problems

Wider issues connected with the special needs of Maori children include behaviours of concern to all New Zealanders. Self-harm as an example of extreme behaviour by students with behavioural and learning problems may be beyond the provisions of SE2000 funding. The following are examples of extreme behaviour perceived by some as learning needs requiring response at a wider community level.

> In the last 4 weeks we have 6 attempts, all Maori, at self-harm, by which I mean suicide, females, aged 10 to 18 for a variety of reasons. Combined with that we just recently had a tangi for a suicide, and last week I had a suicide attempt at school, a lethal dose of pill taking, which really woke me up. I didn't feel that it was the school's responsibility to have to deal solely with that. So I went to the doctor, who happens to be Maori, and I said this is not a school problem on its own, it is a community problem. I need help. I know we have got to do something, I don't know what it is we have got to do. We have worked on a programme of managing self-harm because suicide has a copycat effect. (Rural area school)

An increasing incidence of aggression and violence both inside and outside the classroom was a particular concern at almost every consultation site.

> How can we cater to some of our behavioural students, some of our kids absolutely need a person there with them 1:1 all day. What I'm seeing at the moment, the ones who are dangerous or violent are the ones getting that (support) person. The ones who aren't but are still severely limited in their learning, they're not getting recognised because they sit quietly in the back of the classroom, and they're not intimidating and they're not threatening. So that worries me, the fact that these kids are getting pushed aside. (Teacher aide, urban secondary school)

> Well I'm just looking at the student enrolled with me in [named town]. He has no fixed abode, previously hadn't been in front of the law, and previously been an average sort of kid. . . . He's since committed armed robbery. . . . Well, how did that happen? That's reasonably extreme, but it's not isolated. (Correspondence School focus group)

> One of the things that I have been thinking about, in the junior school the behavioural problems that we have are almost all Maori males, the odd female, and this is extremely aggressive behaviour. It's hard to know where you think moderate ends and where you think excessive begins. My understanding is the RTLBs will deal with moderate behaviour, but to us this is excessive behaviour, like when you are booting in walls and picking up chairs and throwing them around the room, and swearing at the teacher, and punching up other children, that's excessive behaviour. (Rural area school)

Truancy is another significant issue for New Zealand schools and Maori often feature in this problem area.

> The thing that worries me, is that we do have a lot of Maori present as truants. So they are not there, and then they are called bad but if we've looked below why they are bad, often it is because they have a learning problem. But, the learning problem might be retrievable, in which case they are not eligible for the ORS funding. A large number of kids, who are still reasonably average, or just below average intelligence, they are only reading at 5 to 6. Well a kid who's remedial reading at 5 to 6 at ages 12 or 14, 15, they should have access to be taught, but they can't get it. So I think, and it is particularly Maori I think who probably fall into that category, because there are greater numbers of kids who are quite able, who just can't read or write. (Correspondence School secondary)

A wider repercussion of failure to meet the needs of children with special needs, particularly Maori children, is the probability of unemployment after schooling.

> I think the Maori kids that I have had work best if they were actually in a small group, rather than at home with their parent. Because often they're average sort of kids really, but they never perform well at all, not necessarily as low as Special Ed2000, but they're never going anywhere, they don't have any ambitions, so actually being at home on their own, doesn't give them the best opportunity. It's pre-unemployment. (Correspondence School focus group)

> What we do with our grant is provide a teacher as an intervention teacher, not specifically for them, but for a range of children, but that's not enough, they need a little bit more. The worry is they are getting older. These are the sort of kids who will go to college and they just won't cut it. At 15 they are going to be out of there. They are going to struggle to find a comfortable job that's not too hard. They are never going to be able to challenge life to their fullest potential, and those are the sorts of kids that we should be looking at. (Urban KKM)

The need for a co-ordinated response by agencies and support providers was frequently mentioned.

> We don't have an open enrolment policy, one of the ways to become a student of ours is to be recommended by SES or CYPS. And so they're put on in June, at the end of the year we go back and say 'Hey this worked quite well, what are we going to do for next year?' and they say 'Oh no we are not involved with that thing any more, or that student any more'. So they've pulled right out and this leaves the kid in a very difficult position for accessing education for the next year. I'm just trying to say that those pulling back movements of advocacy for children, 'in loco parentis' for children, have ended. (Correspondence School focus group)

A perceived lack of consultation in the development of policy as it relates to schools and services outside the main cities was also of concern to Maori.

> Outside mainstream urban New Zealand people haven't been asked. If you are outside Wellington, Auckland or Christchurch schools, I think there must be a lot of very anxious parents, principals and teachers. (Urban primary school)

Key Factors To Consider When Developing and Implementing SE2000 Policy

- The need for a clearly defined Maori strand.
- Consideration of spiritual dimensions.
- Ensuring an understanding of issues and problems as they affect Maori in particular.
- Developing options for verification which are culturally appropriate.
- Awareness of inappropriate expectations on behalf of teachers and service providers.
- The effect of transient life styles on learning.
- The impact of rural isolation on access to information and services.
- The limited supply of kaupapa Maori education and special service provision.
- The need to prevent negative behaviours such as self-harm, violence, aggression, and truancy.
- The potential flow-on effect between special needs and unemployment.
- The need for a co-ordinated response.
- The need for wide consultation outside urban areas.

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Examples of Non-Provision

A trend across all consultations during the process of this research was that respondents could more readily provide examples of a perceived non-provision, either actual or forecast, than positive examples of provision. Many examples of perceived non-provision have been included under different headings in this report and will not be repeated here. Some responses were noticeably critical and cynical.

> The money's been recycled yet again, the criteria's been stepped up to make it harder for teachers, for parents, for children to be resourced under this auspices of special education. The SES is going to disappear eventually. They're trying to mainstream the children. Teachers are not trained to handle children with specific needs. (Urban KKM)

Because implementation is at an early stage, much concern was expressed about potential impacts on resourcing to meet the needs of the learners.

> We have 14 children who are on the books, that is, not all of the children who have those special needs. So for us it means, we were starting to wonder, how can we cater for these children, how are we going to meet their learning needs when there is already heavy demand on the resources that we get? (Urban primary school)

Many respondents in schools were concerned that resources and existing responses may not meet the needs in some situations.

> SE2000 is new, it is only just starting. It is a change. Some of the relationships that parents have had with SES in the past haven't been as good as they could have been, because of the funding issue and because of getting access. So I think it is a new thing of learning to work together. What the parents need is the day-to-day and ongoing support, not the visiting experts who come in. SES is constrained by what the Ministry wants of them. My concern is the school with students who are functioning at 18 months [development stage] they turn up at the door and they want to start in the school. The schools need a lot of help to support that child. What you need is someone to talk it all through. (Rural primary school)

Some parents or guardians perceived difficulty in getting an appropriate response to the needs of a child.

> We have a young child who is 14. From 0–5 he was educated at kohanga. He went into kura kaupapa. At 10 years old he had enough of te reo Māori and he chose to go into mainstream. From there we sent him away from [area] to college, to learn. The teachers find his behaviour really bad and disruptive, and everyone follows him. But he is not given the opportunity to learn, because he is struggling to meet the demands of the mainstream school. He has special talents, he excells in sport and has represented New Zealand, but his reading and his learning needs are attached to behaviour. So behaviour is the issue which is highlighting his need for special attention. We asked for tu tangata support, but the teacher wasn't comfortable with that. (Public health nurse)

One Size Does Not Fit All

A common perception was that "one size does not fit all" and therefore a national policy may not be appropriate if it does not enable accommodation of actual needs. Of concern is the misconception found at many consultation sites that SE2000 policy requires mainstreaming of all students and the closure of special needs units. Discussion with Ministry of Education staff clarified the point that while mainstreaming is a desirable option for many children with special needs, the policy enables flexibility of response in schools. This component of the policy requires clarification for many education professionals.

> We are at the forefront of mainstreaming, and I think one of the things that the policy doesn't get right is the fact that there is an assumption that mainstreaming is the only way. It is an important way, but there are times, quite clearly, when students have difficulty coping for whatever reason. There is a need for them to have time out, there's a need sometimes for some students to have greater stability in what they are doing, and so they are partially in the mainstream. But the nature of this policy doesn't allow for that because of the way in which it cuts back on staffing in schools. (Urban secondary school)

> To be able to run a base for kids, that they can come out to. To run special programs, particularly skills-based programs, whether that is in terms of skills, in terms of learning or transition from school to work. If it is behavioural issues, or whatever it is, because the policy says students will be mainstreamed, and we get rid of these things called units. That has simply advantaged some schools over others, when you have 'one way fits all' sort of policy. (Urban secondary school)

> There are some kids who need time out of the classroom. I'm not an inclusionist saying that every kid should be in a classroom 9–3, there are some kids for whom that would be quite cruel, autistic kids need a bit of space, they need peace and quiet, but they should belong in the school. They should be part of the school. (College of education)

Suspensions

Evidence of schools' inability to respond to extreme behavioural problems may be discovered by the rate of suspension of children from New Zealand schools. Ministry of Education (1998) statistics on suspensions show that Maori are three times more likely than non-Maori to be suspended from school. Given that Maori make up approximately 20 percent of the total school population, Maori were approximately 43 percent of all suspensions in 1997. The children referred to in the following examples are Maori.

> One young boy who has already been expelled from one school (he's 10), he's here. It's not his ability to learn, he is a bright boy, he can do the work, but he has severe behaviour problems, which impact on the learning. He has recently been showing inappropriate sexual behaviour and language, bringing pornographic stuff and making sexual comments to the other students. I had to suspend him for an assault on another student. I didn't want to do it but I had to do it, because for me, and this is quite sad, sometimes that's the only way I can access the services. So I'm not suspending children willy-nilly to get services, but sometimes it seems to be the thing that will allow us to access the support that they need. (Rural area school)

> Some of them have been set up with the behaviour initiative in the Waikato. Waikato is very aware, they did the trial, and we enrolled over 50 kids, who weren't on the trial because they kicked them out of the school. So, you know it falsifies what the trial is saying, they are going to get this (behaviour education support team) to everywhere in the country. What are they going to do about these 50 kids that we have got, that don't have access to that funding any more? They are not going to be responsible for that group of students in the future because they will be deemed moderate needs or they are getting to 15 and 16, nobody really cares what their behaviour is like then. There is no funding for that group of students. (Correspondence School focus group)

Severe Behaviour Initiative

SE2000 policy is perceived by many respondents to stop funding for severe behavioural needs at year 10. This issue was of particular concern at the post-primary sites which also featured the difficulties of transition between the previous funding systems, for example Section 9 funding, and the SE2000 provision through the Severe Behaviour Initiative (SBI) and ORS funding. The SBI funding is designed as a short-term intervention with funding for an intense amount of special support such as providing a teacher aide. Where longer-term needs are evident, SE2000 policy has ORS funding to meet these needs. Concern was shown about the impact on families and a child for whom support is withdrawn.

> If you've got behaviour initiative funding, it's only up to years 9, 10, 3rd and 4th form equivalent. Even if you've got a learning need, and you're diagnosed, designated, categorised, as a behaviour funding, you can't get that funding once you get older, regardless of whether you've got a learning need or not. (Special needs teacher, urban secondary school)

> This term I have a Maori student who for the last 3 terms has received 7 hours teacher aide time a week, and this term nothing. Special Education Services stated that he no longer requires that, but I don't know what they made that decision upon. I have contacted his mother to let her know that this has actually happened, and I'm still keeping an eye on him. I have said to him, 'You know you don't have a teacher aide this term, but come to us if you have any problems'. He does, and he's struggling, and he's really missing his teacher aide, so he's not doing very well. The teacher aide has been allocated to someone else. (Special unit staff, urban secondary school)

Resource Teachers: Learning and Behaviour

Uncertainty about the implementation of the RTLB positions designated Maori was also common to the majority of consultation sites. The Ministry of Education's regional management centres are to provide RTLBs for kura and immersion settings separate from other RTLB provision. The establishment of these positions attached to clusters of schools is currently in the process of implementation, and the range of ratios for provision varies throughout the country due to regional differences including rural isolation.

> The biggest issue for the kura is (the proposed ratio of) 750 students to one adult, we are about 45 percent of that 750, but that doesn't mean we are going to get 45 percent of that person's time. We will have to go into the pool to bid, like everybody else, based on criteria, of whether or not we get the use of this particular person's skills. (Urban KKM)

Learning and Behaviour

The close connection between learning and behavioural needs appears to be generally understood, with associated difficulties commented on by many respondents.

> Now the question is, is it behavioural or is it learning? In many respects the frustration that arises from an inability to learn, generates an anti-social behaviour. So it's predominantly behaviour but you've got to ask, why did that behaviour come about? And it's been a history of difficulty with learning. (Urban secondary school)

> Some of the kids who have got behaviour, which comes first, the learning need or the behaviour? I mean it might have been the learning need, but they have categorised the kid as a behaviour initiative funding, but this is everywhere essentially. If they designate the kid for behaviour initiative funding, they are never going to get ORS funding, because the behaviour is seen as the problem, not the academic learning. I see that as quite a major problem actually. (Rural area school)

> Is the priority going to be learning, or is it going to be behaviour? My perspective from many of the mainstream schools, behaviour comes before the learning. That when there is intervention by a specialist, or a support person, it's usually because of the behaviour. What we do know is that the lack of learning in some respects is often because of the behaviour. So the RTLBs are going to have their work cut out. (Special needs teacher)

Key Factors Relating to the Perception of Non-Provision for Maori in Special Education

- The lack of accurate information about policies and services.
- Previous negative experiences with provision.
- A lack of understanding of proposed initiative implementation.
- Doubt that resources will be adequate or allocated by need.
- The belief that "one size does not fit all", a national policy may not meet the needs of Maori, for example the funding formula based on individual children which does not accommodate the wider response by whanau, hapu, and iwi.
- The impact of mainstreaming on all learners and teachers.
- A connection between non-provision for behavioural needs and suspension of students.
- The connection between learning needs which present as behavioural needs, and inappropriate behaviours which affect learning.

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Improving Special Education Provision for Iwi, Hapu, and Whanau

The short timeframe of this research process meant that it was not viable to undertake formal consultation at an iwi level. Individual runanga are dealing with many issues and policies on behalf of their own people. Informal approaches to three separate iwi showed that special education is one issue which has not yet been looked at in depth at an iwi level. Consultation at this level will take more time and may be a part of subsequent monitoring and research by the Ministry of Education.

Information from and about whanau is included in an earlier section of this report, and many respondents—most notably in kaupapa Maori sites—did contribute information pertinent to iwi.

> What I would like to see the whanau or the hapu or the iwi to be able to access special ed. funding to deal with the behaviour modification, which will impact on the learning. (Rural area school)

> The reality is that the children are only at school for 5 hours. These changes need to happen not only in the school, but out there in the community, in the whanau, in those hapu and in the iwi, because it is not the school's responsibility alone to change the behaviours. Given that the parents in the whanau aren't always able to, then it should be a community accessing of those funds of which we are a part. (Rural KKM)

> I am opposed to any policy which are for Maori. I am supportive of policies that recognise iwi. I know it's not always applicable for urban situations. I do not want programmes and services developed for Maori, these children are [named hapu and iwi], and that makes them different from other children. While there are similarities between iwis, we are different. There's no doubt that children here are different to Tuhoe or Ngapuhi children. That is why at iwi level, that's where the policy interaction should happen. What is best for [named iwi] children? (Rural area school)

> It has to happen at a policy level, because nothing's going to happen without it happening at a policy level really. It can happen at a delivery level, working in tandem with the school to be able to access services. Iwi are involved at a delivery level, dealing with issues. Trying to strengthen whanau and this is an extremely important strand of it. It can't work in isolation, what happens now. (Iwi representative)

The Effect of SE2000 on Maori Education

All of the information in this report relating to Maori children in particular contributes information to the question of the effect of SE2000 on Maori education. Many respondents at an implementation level did not consider that they understood the concept "Maori education". At one site, the researcher was referred to the teacher of te reo Maori who had no knowledge of the SE2000 policy. At sites with very high proportions of Maori enrolments the frame of understanding was frequently kaupapa Maori, without reference to the mainstream education system.

Initial consultations at the national level frequently included referral to the "Maori expert" or representative, and conversely from the Maori respondent to the special education expert. A pattern emerged of Maori and special education issues being dealt with in two separate places by two or more different people.

Proposed Changes

On the question of desired changes within SE2000 policy, the majority of respondents indicated that, as SE2000 was very new and the implementation of key strands was not yet completed, it would be premature to suggest detailed changes. National-level respondents representing national interests, such as teacher unions, have been actively involved in lobbying for changes to minimise the impact on their members and to ensure continued provision for some special needs children.

Suggestions of desired changes are included elsewhere in the body of this report, most notably the need for consultation and Maori involvement in policy development.

Consulting Tangata Whenua

Any issue in education, for example suspension, will have a specific impact on Maori which may be similar for all New Zealanders, but at times will require consultation with Maori people to generate possible responses or solutions to challenges which are uniquely Maori. When asked how this could best be achieved by Ministry of Education staff, researchers, or specialist service providers, all respondents recommended talking with Maori stakeholders. The following are typical of advice from Maori respondents:

> If you are targeting the tangata whenua, you can't go wrong. Target across the age groups, target from the kaumatua to the child, and also target the special needs parents and how they feel, and where they are. Work with the iwi, whanau, and hapu. Use that pillar, from the whanau the hapu, from the hapu the iwi, and you can't go wrong. If you don't seek the knowledge, the wisdom, and advice from the tangata whenua then you are not working within the partnership role within tino rangatiratanga. (Public health nurse).

> That's a really hard one. The obvious is hui a iwi, or hui a rohe, or hui a hapu. It opens the door, it's a very global way, I suppose that it's a safe way of consulting. . . . More talking with smaller groups. Maori people relate better to smaller groups. Get in and talk with the kohanga groups, the kura groups. Identify key people within particular areas, and talk with them. And then call a hui a iwi, because those people you went one-on-one with, and small groups with, are not the same ones who go to hui a iwi. I never go to them, I never have my say, but I will say one-on-one and I have my opinion. And this is an area I'm involved in, but if I went to hui a iwi, my opinion wouldn't count. There are other people who would be older and probably male, so even if you are in the field, that's something that when you are dealing with Maori needs to be considered. (Urban KKM)

> The consultation process needs to be with a range of people. Really if it's about children in education, parents have to be consulted first. Just your general Joe Bloggs, they may not have all the insight that the experts have, but as parents they have the gut feeling about their kids, they know what they want, they know what's good. Parents can tell others, what works and what doesn't. And of course we have our own experiences. Then you've got those who work hands-on, chalkface, then your levels; broad consultation, one-on-one, small group and then a hui a iwi. I would see that as a last resort. But at a hui a iwi, bring in key findings from the other consultations, 'Do you agree with this iwi?' (Urban KKM)

> You often don't get someone to come and talk to your whanau or your iwi or whatever, your runanga about special education. You're only getting it through the school and then it's through whatever the school gives you. (Mainstream primary parent)

> Wananga may be the appropriate way to work with our people. Yes, but also, I mean there needs to be different types of resourcing, identifying key people in our purapura, who will assist the kohanga in that purapura on special needs, on what their rights are or what's available for them. If the parents wish to access it or if the kohanga wish to access it. Because the kohanga might say 'No, there is nothing wrong with this child'. The child could have a disability, but for the whanau they might say 'No it's okay, we can actually cope with it'. (TKRNT)

Policy Development and Service Provision for Maori Children

Consultation with Maori identified many issues that were considered to be important in the development of any policy, including SE2000. These issues are of importance to both national and local providers, and to practitioners working with Maori children.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

The majority of Maori consulted in the process of the research and a few non-Maori mentioned the Treaty of Waitangi during the interviews. The Treaty is seen by many as the founding document of New Zealand, bringing together two peoples to create one nation. In 1975, the Treaty of Waitangi Act passed into law the need to address the principles of the Treaty covered by the three articles. Many respondents felt strongly that consideration of the articles of the Treaty is essential in the development of all educational policy. An in-depth analysis of issues within special education with reference to the Treaty is beyond the scope of this report. Readers who are not familiar with the Treaty and its relevance to education are referred to Marshall (1991), for example, who looked at education reform including issues of assimilation, integration, and cultural diversity. Marshall gives a helpful reference list for readers seeking more information about the Treaty and its relevance in education. Investigation into the implications of SE2000 policy relative to the Treaty would require a separate research process.

> This is essentially a Crown iwi relationship. The treaty is about the Crown talking with its Treaty partner, and the reason that SE2000 is in place is because the Crown has long ago breached that relationship. The special needs for Maori children, or iwi children is a direct reflection of the breach in that contractual relationship, so therefore it is not the sole responsibility of iwi to fix it up, it is the Crown's responsibility to deal with iwi as they would with anyone else. (Iwi representative)

Maori Control of Resourcing

Article 2 of the Treaty dealing with tino rangatiratanga was referred to by many respondents with the following quotations as typical:

> The ideal is for Maori to have the putea and make our own decisions, because the way in which we would deal with that putea is not necessarily the same way the school down the road would. This money may get tied up with

employment of a person, and there are contractual things to deal with rather than what's good for the child and what the child actually needs. Having the ability to resource and make responsible decisions, is one really key issue for Maori. (Urban KKM)

I always think that if something Maori is going to be done for the Maori people, it should be Maori controlled. (TKRNT)

Basically, they need to put aside a lump sum of money, and Maori people will do it for themselves their way. With the purapura we have the network, bringing groups of people together, matua, kaiako, experts, speakers and non-speakers of te reo. But they have one common goal, the child. (Kohanga reo focus group)

Hegemony

Inclusion of appropriate Maori perspectives is essential for all policy development and implementation to gain the trust and commitment of tangata whenua. A few respondents stated clearly that without consultation in policy development, the implementation of policy could be seen as hegemonic practice, forcing the systems and structures of the predominant European culture on to the minority of tangata whenua. Many respondents expressed concern that SE2000 had no tangible Maori elements or components, resulting in the same question asked in many sites:

Do they really want to involve Maori people? (Kaumatua kohanga reo)

Other respondents appeared to feel strongly about hegemonic practices perceived to threaten the survival of the entire Maori culture and impacting strongly within the education of Maori.

I believe that whanau and the parents are trying to work with the schools. On some occasions, the middle class, white man, mono-cultural system has the overpowering bearing on predominantly Maori children, so I don't agree that it's a partnership. So if you look at it, we are going back to the native schools, because we don't want to lose our language, we don't want to lose our culture. We want to have our people strong within the education system so that our children can stand up tall, but with the help of our government who leads us. (District health nurse)

Several respondents had ideas about how the Ministry of Education could improve their consultation practices. The following is typical of requests for more active feedback when Maori participate in consultation processes.

They say they want to raise understanding of Maori education issues within the Ministry. They need to put that in practice. And build greater trust and credibility of Maori to increased interaction, that's listening and action. So that Maori people need to have a response back from the Ministry after they are consulted. Saying, this is what we have used from your ideas. This is what we can't use because of budget constraint. This is what we think doesn't go anywhere or something . . . because then Maori people will say, you are actually listening to us. Because what happens is we give our view from Maori, they take it and they interpret it in their policy section and do something else to it. And out it comes looking like a Pakeha initiative or framework. (TKRNT)

National Policy

Respondents with knowledge and experience in policy development and implementation spoke emphatically about the need for national policy to be applicable to Maori in the full range of locations and situations.

> Another difficulty with Ministry and policy making, the policy is always a national policy, it's a policy that's for everyone, they don't discriminate. There should be local responses and local answers for local conditions. There should be a variety of approaches the Ministry should fund, not just one. For Health it's exactly the same, Social Welfare, CYPS, all over the country it's exactly the same. There is one policy, our policy all over the country, you've got to fit it, whether you like it or not your community has to fit in with our policy. And very often there is no fit at all. The people don't fit the policy. (Kaumatua)

Participation

Almost all respondents echoed a belief that to enable Maori participation in policy development and implementation, a full range of tangata whenua should be consulted.

> It is about consultation. It is about listening. It is about coming to Maori people with open hearts really and listening to what we say. And that's really what the Ministry needs to do. They need to come and listen to how Maori perceive the world, perceive their children, the expectations, and the aspirations for the children. It is really about whanau, hapu, iwi development and then they can see how their expertise can assist. (TKRNT)

> The people, who are the service receivers, or clients, have to really have some participation in the development of policy. When the Ministry says, 'Oh we consulted', the way government departments consult is, they use the word consult. But what they will do is go to one or two people that they think are leaders, or elders, or have a title Sir or Dame in front of them and say well what do you think? And if you challenge this, they say they consulted with your elders, this is what they come up with. The consultation has to go right down to the basic level, in other words, to the people, to the Maori communities. Some of those leaders are not in touch with the grass roots. (Urban kaumatua—iwi representative)

> Policy people need to listen to what is happening at the grass roots. Now that's the same for us as policy people in this movement. Otherwise we become bureaucratic. If we don't listen, if we don't go out there where it is all happening and listen to our people, we get it wrong, because for our movement anyway, the people own it and they need to operate it. Our role is to be their servants and to ensure that what they see as important is put in place. Ministries are the servants of the Government aren't they? They're supposed to be servants of the people. (TKRNT)

Relevance

A theme which was echoed across the full range of kaupapa Maori sites can best by summarised by the following quote, which argues that successful implementation of policy will depend on the perceived relevance of a policy to Maori.

> The relevance of the policy to the needs of the people, that's really important, and you can't really assess that by developing a national framework. You can't. You have to go to the local people and say what's relevant for you people? Or your local iwi if you like—what do you need, and get the people to give the answers. They know. (Kaumatua)

Access

Appropriate access to services to accommodate the needs of Maori in a full range of situations was universally regarded as an issue. The existence of networks of people who can inform Maori and whanau of provision for specialist education services was affirmed in most sites.

> Issues of Maori access, it's reliant on getting in touch with somebody in SES at the moment. It's a matter of people knowing that the service is available. It depends on the level of knowledge of the local people like health nurses, early intervention, pediatricians, doctor, it really depends on how good the early childhood service is in your community. (Correspondence School)

> The people, receivers of the services have to have access, unobstructed access to the deliverers of the services. So they've got to have those links, those networks. (Urban kaumatua)

Co-ordinated Response

Maori are found in a diverse range of locations and situations, so many respondents urged that consideration should be given to options for a diverse range of co-ordinated responses to meet the special needs of Maori children.

> What I would like is to be able to resource a programme that involves the whanau, that involves the Trust, that involves the clinical people that we need to develop a programme that is specific to the children in our school. That's not possible at the moment because the funding is tagged to the individual child. If we were given the opportunity, along with the whanau and Hau Ora (Health) we could develop a programme. (Rural area school)

> We may get another child who turns up at kohanga, or a kindergarten at 3, and someone sees this child who has needs, and recognises that Mum has needs too. She may be very young, she may be on her own, she may not have the family support, or the economic resources to deal with a very challenging child who at 3 years is still not much further on than what they were at 18 months. Many of our children have very strong medical needs that they can't get to kohanga. You may get an Individual Educational Plan (IEP) which says that they go to kohanga, and the pediatrician and speech therapist, and early intervention teacher is listed, along with the Correspondence School. You wonder why they are getting all these things? Then you find out that because of seizures, because of feeding difficulties, they get to kohanga once a month. That the pediatrician is every year, that the early intervention teacher comes once a fortnight or monthly, and Correspondence is the only regular thing. Sometimes people look at the number of services, but don't ask, what does that service give you as a parent? What do you get from it? (Correspondence School focus group)

Holistic Community Response

Maori have holistic concepts of the child and education. A significant majority of Maori respondents indicated that policy needs to be flexible enough to accommodate this world view.

> The opportunity to upskill other people in our community [then] we will have more skilled people working with the children, in an integrated way that takes account of their whole life. I'm talking about all the parts, social, cultural, educational, that go to make them a person. While we would like to have doctors and lawyers come out of here, the reality for us—with the low educational attainment at this time—is that it would be good to have happy, contributing citizens to our community, who may want to go on to formal learning later. That they leave here feeling successful and that they have achieved, and that they are not going to be an extra burden on the State in some other way. (Rural area school)

Local Response for Local Needs

Each iwi within New Zealand may have different or unique needs requiring local responses.

> Whether the programmes that result out of accessing SE2000 will work I have yet to see. I am particularly concerned that because these are Maori children we are dealing with, I want to be sure that the programme is appropriate for this region and our children, not some programme that may work for some other place, and may not work for here. We are willing to look at programmes that can be adapted, but I don't want it to be a transplant. (Rural primary school)

Appropriate Resources in Te Reo Maori

Many teachers and other education professionals commented on the Ministry of Education commitment to immersion education opportunities. The resources to enable provision and to accommodate special educational needs in immersion environments should be available in te reo Maori. Respondents in all education sites were concerned about the lack of resourcing in te reo Maori, with the following quotes as typical of the range of sites:

> We struggle with resources, there is a very real shame that we can only offer English resources. I feel for the children in kura, you need resources in Maori. I think you struggle if the child is mainstream. If these children have special needs, there is nothing there for them. For the support I am not sure, but the support is only available in English. If you are comfortable in Maori, and you want to have your IEP in Maori, and an 'expert' there with only English, it is not satisfactory. (Correspondence School focus group)

> In special education, it is the appropriateness of resourcing that is drummed into you. Often that is why children aren't fitting into the school, why the curriculum is not working for them, because it's not what they need, and it doesn't match what they need. As soon as you enter that dimension of the language, then the gap grows even more. (Special needs teacher, urban primary school)

> One of the issues I was going to bring up . . . I made them [SES] aware but they don't have workers who can work i roto i te reo Maori. I am not saying that these kids can't speak English, but if you want to access a service, then you

should be able to access the service in the language that you choose. When you know the child with special needs is schooling in total immersion, what sort of messages is that sending to the child? It's that you need help, but the only way we can help you is in English, and that undermines te reo Maori. (Rural area school)

Bilingual Staff

Another common concern was the perception that bilingual staff are critical for the appropriate delivery of services to Maori, and the lack of suitably qualified bilingual staff caused more challenges.

> For children who go from kohanga to the mainstream English school, especially with special needs, they are in a situation where English is another language for them. The whole resourcing issue, we have advertised for staff but we can't attract them, they are so sought after. People with those skills, they have the pick of the jobs. (Correspondence School focus group)

One respondent offered a solution for the lack of qualified speakers of te reo, arguing for whanau and iwi involvement to provide the bilingual knowledge and skills in support of service providers.

> If you are going to promise immersion, you must have the resources in these services for te reo. That is another reason for involvement of whanau, hapu, and iwi, we may not have the specialists out there yet who are able to deliver bilingually, but you are working with a group that is able to do that. Then haven't we gone part of the way to meeting that child's needs. (Rural KKM)

Another pointed out the difficulty of obtaining appropriate advice from staff who do not speak te reo Maori.

> Last year we brought a hearing adviser in and she went to each of our classes explaining her work and why children needed hearing aids, and what was hearing loss. She did that in English and then we had someone translating on the side. Prior to that she was really reluctant to come in, because the language scared the hell out of her. The speech therapists, they are reluctant to work with our kids, because they say it is a language lag. Our children don't articulate particular sounds because they don't hear them; they don't use them on a daily basis. Sometimes it's easier to not buy into it. Just say give me the information, I will decide for myself, and I will do it myself. (Urban KKM)

Change Process

Implementation of SE2000 policy requires many changes, for example in paradigms, the way of working together, and accessing funding. Many respondents commented on the fact that change processes require managing, preferably in a transparent manner.

> One of the difficulties with the SE2000 policy is that it is requiring a major shift in thinking. It is not a tinkering with what we have got. It is a completely new paradigm, and we have to start thinking about it differently. There is still a lot of thinking in the old model, and it's not going to work that way. (RTLB training consortium)

I don't think it is the school's role to lead all that change. Yes it is the role of the school to be a change agent, but I can't do it on my own, particularly in a community like this, where if you don't buy in the support then there's obviously resistance to what you are trying to do. The children are here for 5 hours a day, the other 19 they are in the community. (Rural area school)

SE2000 is still new. It would be good that they stop and take a look at it now, before they bring in more changes, or do anything that can't be undone. We have had lots of proposed changes for special education that have never come, when they have consulted and changed their minds. I'm not sure whether the SE2000 we got was what we'd hoped for. (ECE special needs)

Appropriate Format of Policy Information

The major issue about SE2000 policy was the perception that while information about the policy may be clear to the writers, it is not clear for the intended recipients. Many respondents spoke of the ongoing difficulty of trying to take on the new information, usually from paper or hard-copy sources. Rural respondents spoke highly of the staff of the Ministry who had made time to come out to speak about the new policy in 1996. Unfortunately, some held only the initial information delivered orally in mind, and were not knowledgeable about subsequent policy developments which had been communicated in writing only. Providing information to stakeholders through inappropriate mediums is inefficient and detrimental to policy development and implementation. Examples from a range of sites given below are typical.

Parents

> The information that's coming out needs to be put in plain English, a lot of it's gobbledy-gook. A lot of it is too way over the top of a lot of our students and parents for them to understand, so they're not going to question anything because they can't understand it in the first place. (Teacher aide, urban secondary school)

> Parents who want to be informed more, will follow it through, parents that feel someone else is going to make the decision for me, or I'll just go with the flow, or I don't want to know, they'll just 'file it'. It was pretty powerful stuff. I assumed that any parent receiving this stuff, would have had a background, or be familiar with a lot of the terminology and the processes that were being projected, because it referred to perhaps their child. (Urban primary school)

> I am a little concerned at some of their publications, that are supposedly for parents as well and I find them very hard to read. I am not sure that the message that's been in them for parents has been very clear. So we have sent some out and had to write a covering letter with it to explain or interpret what we think are the bones of this three pages of writing with a lot that doesn't really relate to us. All the time we try to ensure that what we think is an important message is getting through. (Special needs, Correspondence School)

Kohanga Reo

> We assume that the brochures, you know the information sheets that come out, are going to the kohanga because they are provided by the Ministry. The Ministry usually sends it out to the kohanga. They sent us some. Looking through them, I supposed in honesty, because Maori seems invisible in there, we basically put it aside because we have got a lot of other things to get on with. (TKRNT)

Schools

> As much as we want the information, the faxes and information is coming out at such a rapid rate that it's overload, so it's not quality. There's nothing wrong with the information, but when I see another one I think 'Oh God, another SE2000, into the pile, I'll get to it.' I know they are trying to give information, but whether it's in an appropriate format, that is another matter. (Rural primary school)

I can tell you that the stuff that comes from Ministry is about that much per month (indicates 20cm pile of papers). I looked at all the stuff I get on special education and it just keeps flying through. They're not actually contradictions in the information that's being given, but there's variations, and it's changing all the time, so you feel like you've got to keep abreast of what's going on, if you want to be able to access the services. I think it has been very rushed. I think that while they have tried to keep people informed, because of our isolation, we don't always have access to the information as freely as everybody else. (Rural area school)

Information on Maori in Special Education

As part of the SE2000 support programmes, the Ministry has contracted a range of research, monitoring, and evaluation of the policy. Almost all respondents acknowledged the value of quality research in informing policy development and implementation. Many respondents asked questions about SE2000 policy, indicating the need for more information to go out to the education and service sectors.

> I'm not sure that there is anything existing at the moment. I have never heard of any of the research into SE2000, I don't know where they are doing it or who they are talking to. (Special needs unit manager)

> How many children on ORS are Maori? These statistics are returned twice a year in funding returns, so they are current. The information goes to Ministry when you do special ed returns. On the 1st March and 1st of July returns to Ministry, data goes to the Data Analysis Group at Ministry, and those figures generate the money. So, how many Maori students receive funding? What's the proportion being allocated to service the special needs of Maori students? (Urban KKM)

Policy Development Process

The commitment by the Ministry to "Develop exemplars of best practice in Maori policy advice" (Ministry of Education, 1998) was welcomed by the majority of respondents. Some important factors to consider in policy development are noted in the advice from the following respondents:

> I've been a part of some of the presentations on SE2000 and one of the things that I found is where are Maori in that development? So basically if I can't see Maori being visible in it, then the kohanga isn't really interested. (TKRNT)

> I've worked in policy, and I know what it's like when Maori come to be the add-on to the policy. Policy should be developed around Maori and what benefits us will certainly benefit everyone else. We are at the bottom of all the statistics, at the bottom of the heap. We are sick of 'This is what you do and if they are Maori you do that'. (Rural area school)

> They would save themselves a lot of grief if they developed policies which were robust in terms of meeting the needs of Maori, because when they don't do it, they've got all the added expense of trying to re-jig a policy after it has been developed, and that's very expensive. If they did it first off, they wouldn't have the expense of 'Well this doesn't really fit this piece of the puzzle'. (Iwi representative)

> I think one of the real difficulties has been the drip feed model of information. Whenever you got to a point where you were challenging something, they say 'Oh yes, but wait until this piece of the policy is released. Just wait and see what happens.' I suppose in a sense you could argue it's been very skilful. But then suddenly everything is there and you can see that in fact what they are talking about doesn't actually fix or rectify the particular problem. (Urban secondary school)

> It's no good if you have the money for the staffing, but you haven't got the trained staff, or you haven't got the resources, or access to services, you have to have all of those other things. It's like they have got a theory and they are finding that as they are bringing it in things have suddenly occurred to them. (ECE)

> We can take from the policy and develop our own delivery according to our iwi. If it's not there in the first place, it looks like you are trying to do an add-on and a fix-it. If there were scope within the policy to enable us to work within a whanau, hapu, and iwi level, in conjunction with the policy, we would be able to do that. At the moment there isn't a way to access funds together. The policy does not allow for whanau and hapu grouping and iwi groupings to do it. The focus is on an individual child; it is not on a whanau. (Rural area school)

> They can't listen, they still think they know the best, that's the issue, it's an attitudinal thing; they've got to change their attitude and their approach with regards to Maori. They think Maori can't do it. (Kohanga reo)

Respondents to questions about the Special Education 2000 have supplied the following advice to assist the Ministry of Education to achieve its aim to "Develop exemplars of best practice in Maori policy advice" (Strategic Plan, Ministry of Education, 1998), which will assist Maori to be included within policy and service provision.

Key Factors To Improving Special Education Provision For Iwi, Hapu, and Whanau

- The Treaty of Waitangi should be considered in the development and implementation of SE2000 policy, in particular tino rangatiratanga.
- The inclusion of appropriate Maori perspectives is essential to gain the trust and commitment of tangata whenua.
- SE2000 policy must be applicable to Maori in the full range of locations and situations.
- For Maori participation a full range of tangata whenua should be consulted.
- Successful implementation of policy will depend on the perceived relevance to Maori.
- Maori have holistic concepts of the child and education. Policy needs to be flexible enough to accommodate this world view.
- Each iwi may have different or unique needs requiring localised responses.
- Consideration should be given to options for a diverse range of co-ordinated responses including holistic community responses.
- The Ministry of Education has made a commitment to immersion education opportunities. SE2000 information, resources, and services should be available in te reo Maori.
- Bilingual and bicultural staff are critical for appropriate delivery of services to Maori.
- Change processes require managing, preferably in a transparent manner.
- Policy and other information may be clear to the writers, but not clear for the intended recipients. Use simple English and te reo Maori in communications.
- Misinformation is detrimental to policy development and implementation and may restrict access to special education provision for Maori.
- Quality research is important to inform policy development and communication with stakeholders.

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MAORI QUESTIONS ABOUT SE2000

The final question put to all respondents asked them for any other questions about special needs provision for Maori and the SE2000 policy, which they felt were important and should be answered. Their responses and queries are listed below.

- ☐ There is no evidence in the SE2000 policy of consideration given to the framework afforded by Te Tiriti o Waitangi. What is the relevance to Maori without this paradigm?
- ☐ What in the SE2000 provision is designed to enhance the learning process for Maori children with specific educational needs?
- ☐ Is there a Maori strand to the SE2000 policy development?
- ☐ What processes enable the participation by Maori in the decision-making processes, including verification of ORS funding?
- ☐ What strategy exists to ensure the future supply of Maori teachers, fluent in te reo and special education needs?
- ☐ How are funds allocated for the development of resources in Maori, bilingual, or bicultural resources, for use in kaupapa Maori sites, specifically for children with special needs?
- ☐ What are the formulas of allocation of resources to RTLB positions designated Maori? Is this based on Maori enrolment numbers or actual needs?
- ☐ Is it true that the ratio of enrolments to RTLB positions is different in different parts of the country? If so, what are these?
- ☐ How many Maori children are receiving funding for special needs?
- ☐ What proportion of the budget is being allocated to service the needs of Maori students?
- ☐ How effective is the 10-point plan for Maori?
- ☐ How committed to Maori development is the Ministry of Education? And if so what does such a commitment mean?
- ☐ Does the Ministry have a Maori advisory group?
- ☐ What proportion of Ministry staff are Maori?
- ☐ Does the Ministry have a special education advisory group with Maori represented?
- ☐ Does the Ministry have a consultation process with Maori about education in general or SE2000 in particular?
- ☐ Does the Ministry inform Maori parents about SE2000 in a culturally appropriate way?
- ☐ How will teachers be trained, or receive professional development, in special needs?
- ☐ Where are the resources supporting the development of Maori with education?
- ☐ What are the demands on you as a teacher, in terms of multi-level resourcing?
- ☐ Our students who have been mainstreamed without support, what's happening to them?
- ☐ Are we valuing what we can measure, rather than measuring what we value?

CONCLUSION

Special Education 2000 is a relatively new policy aiming to enhance resourcing for students who have special education needs. For Maori there are perspectives which are unique and need to be considered in the development and implementation of SE2000 policy. Foremost is consideration of the Treaty of Waitangi which enables a partnership approach to policy development. Many Maori respondents sought direct access to funding to enable Maori control and authority over resourcing to meet the special needs of Maori students.

Traditional concepts of whanau, hapu, and iwi are critical to frame appropriately the policy for Maori, and an understanding of these concepts is very important for all education professionals and providers of special education services. Acknowledging the uniqueness of each Maori child as part of their own iwi could lead to a range of provision and service delivery which was most appropriate for each iwi grouping.

Respondents in kaupapa Maori sites, such as kohanga reo or kura kaupapa Maori, spoke strongly about the need for resourcing of special education delivery within te reo Maori, extending to the external providers of special education services.

Evidence of misunderstanding of the content, intentions, and principles of the SE2000 policy was found throughout this research, which may signal that Maori children are missing out on provision for special needs. Clearly there is a need to develop a more appropriate information-sharing process, with particular attention paid to the format of delivery. This may include more oral communication and greater clarity in written communications, and the resourcing for te reo Maori versions of the information.

A significant issue arose from a range of respondents who felt that without a clear Maori strand or component to the SE2000 policy, the policy was of little relevance to Maori. For the Ministry of Education to implement the policy successfully, this issue must be addressed.

Respondents spoke of the appropriate processes of consultation with Maori which would enhance the development of SE2000 provision to best meet the special education needs of Maori in both rural and urban settings. This process may also be used in wider-scale research into the special needs of Maori children within education.

MAORI WORDS AND PHRASES

aroha	love
atua	God
awhi(ing)	to foster or cherish
hapu	subtribe, subdivision of an iwi
hui	gathering, often on a marae, conducted according to Maori protocol
iwi	tribal group
kaiako	teacher
kaumatua	respected tribal elder
kaupapa	philosophy, plan, purpose
kohanga reo	literally "language nest"; a preschool education centre using the Maori language and run according to Maori kaupapa and tikanga
korero	say, speak, talk, conversation
kura kaupapa Maori	total-immersion, Maori-language school for primary-aged children
manaakitanga	caring
manuhiri	visitors, guests
matua	parents
mihi	greeting, welcome
mokopuna	grandchild(ren)
Pakeha	a person of predominantly European descent
pukenga	skilled in, versed in
purapura	seed; used by TKRNT to describe a cluster of kohanga
putea	resources often in the form of funding
reo	language
rohe	area/region/district
runanga	council representing an iwi
tangata whenua	local people
taonga	treasure
te ao Maori	the Maori world
te ao Pakeha	the Pakeha or European world
te reo Maori	the Maori language
te taha tinana	the physical realm
te taha hinengaro	the psychological realm
te taha wairua	the spiritual realm
te taha whanau	the extended family
tikanga	customs, protocol
tino rangatiratanga	right to autonomy, self-determination
tipuna	ancestors
tu tangata	standing tall
wananga	place of higher learning; a state of deep consideration and analysis of an issue
whanau	extended family grouping
whanaungatanga	familiness, living as part of an extended family

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APPENDIX

SE2000 INTERVIEW FORMAT

- ☐ What do you know about SE2000?
- ☐ Do you know of examples of Maori children and/or whanau with educational How does SE2000 support your students/child/whanau/organisation?
- ☐ SE2000 provision is based on whanau or parents working in partnership with education providers to provide for the children or students. How does this work in your experience?
- ☐ What are the issues around SE2000 as it relates to you/your child/iwi/organisation?
- ☐ needs that are not fully met by the provisions of SE2000 funding?
- ☐ Has your iwi/organisation had anything to do with the SE2000 implementation? Do they have any guidelines that you know of for interaction with special education providers?
- ☐ What effect does SE2000 have on Maori education?
- ☐ Is there anything that you would like to change about SE2000? What and why?
- ☐ How could the special educational needs of your child/Maori learners best be met?
- ☐ How can policy makers and service providers seek the advice of iwi and tangata whenua about special education provision for our people?
- ☐ What would you suggest as a way to get more information on the special educational needs of Maori and how the government could best meet those needs with SE2000 provision?
- ☐ What questions could we use for more research into SE2000 policy and provision for Maori children and learners?
- ☐ Any other questions/information/suggestions/responses/comments?